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Navigating a Turbulent Neighborhood: Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards Afghanistan (2018-2022)

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ABSTRACT

This paper discusses Pakistan-Afghanistan bilateral relations from 2018-2022. From 2018 to 2022 it was a critical stage in Pakistan's foreign Policy viz-a-viz Afghanistan. There was not only the transformation of the government system in Afghanistan from democracy to Afghan government what may be called an Islamic democracy, theocratic regime or Taliban government. This research will further explain the role of Pakistan in facilitating the Doha Peace Accord and how Pakistan played its role in bringing the Taliban to negotiating table. In addition, it will further investigate the factors leading to the fall of Kabul in 2021 and the formation of the Taliban interim government in Afghanistan and its implications for Pakistan. Regional Security complex theory has been used to explain bilateral relations of Pakistan and Afghanistan. This research is qualitative in nature. Both primary and secondary data has been utilized in this paper .Furthermore, this paper will also elaborate the high-level diplomatic engagements between both countries.

KEYWORDS: Pakistan, Afghanistan, Doha Peace Process, Taliban.

INTRODUCTION:

Foreign policy is the cornerstone of international system under which states interact with one another. In the web of international system states cannot live in isolation. They are dependent upon one another in order to fulfill their objectives. These objectives may be in terms of diplomatic alliances, trade relations, economic relations or security concerns etc. While devising the foreign policy the main thing which comes under consideration is states national interest. National interest is permanent feature of international system but on the other hand its nature is not static which means it changes with the passage of time. Just let take here the example of America .The US forces occupied Afghanistan for 20 years but when they thought that now it's

not in their national interest to further continue their occupation, they decided to withdraw their forces from Afghanistan the same they did in Vietnam.

This period 2018-2022 is also very important because the US which is considered as hegemon of the international system realized the fact that it would not further bear the economic burden of war in Afghanistan. To withdraw its forces from Afghanistan Donald Trump, the US President devised a policy and finalized the process of withdrawal started by his predecessor Barak Obama. The Afghan Peace Process is important in this regard. There is no doubt that earlier Pakistani administrations made every effort to contribute to the peace process in Afghanistan. Pakistan's role in the Heart of Asia conference, The Quadrilateral Coordination Group, and many other platforms are the best examples of this. Pakistan from the very beginning is an advocate of a stable, peaceful, and prosperous Afghanistan.¹ It is said that history can be changed but geography not. In foreign policy, ground realities cannot be ignored. If there is a fire in your neighbor's house, then how you can sit comfortably? The smoke will also come to your house as well. The same is the case with Pakistan and Afghanistan. If there is instability or disturbance in Afghanistan then definitely it will be problematic for Pakistan as well and vice versa. Pakistan and Afghanistan both are Muslim countries and share the longest border of 2600 kilometers. This research further explains how both countries interacted with one another during this period. Taking into account the policies of the Pakistan government towards the state of Afghanistan. It further explains the challenges faced by both countries.

Theoretical Framework:

The Regional Security Complex theory of international systems presented by Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver serve as a theoretical framework for this paper. The Pakistan-Afghanistan relations during 2018-2022 can best be explained through the lens of regional complex theory. Regional Complex Theory is an idea in International Relations regarding how the regions work together as interdependent political, economic, and security units. First coined as "Regional Security Complex Theory" by scholars Barry Buzan and Ole Weaver, it explains that the security of states within a particular region is interdependent.² More simply said, this means that stability or conflict in one state directly spills over into its neighbors, creating a complex web of regional relationships.³ The theory also brings out the particular features of the regions, where states are so connected that their securities, economies, and political life often differ from what happens globally. The influence of external forces was also an important factor, especially the United States, China, and Russia, in shaping the contours of the Pakistan-Afghanistan relationship during 2018-2022. First, the withdrawal of the U.S. from Afghanistan was an epoch-changing incident that utterly changed the regional security complex and drastically altered the security dynamics of the region. Pakistan's role in facilitating the U.S.-Taliban negotiations positioned it as an important intermediary but also brought new challenges given the Taliban's return to power in 2021. China's growing influence in this region, especially with its BRI and close ties with Pakistan, added to these changing dynamics within this bilateral relationship. Stability in Afghanistan was something considered by China to be an indispensable factor in the success of its economic

projects in Pakistan and the wider region. This engendered deeper cooperation between Pakistan and China on Afghan-related issues.

Historical Background of Pak Afghan Relations:

As far as Pakistan and Afghanistan relations are concerned it is evident that since the inception of Pakistan in 1947, Pakistan and Afghanistan didn't enjoy cordial relations with one another due to various reasons. In 1947 in United Nations Afghanistan voted against the creation of Pakistan.⁴ From onwards Afghanistan and Pakistan alleged one another for interference in internal matters from both sides. It is said that if there is a tilt in the base of the building then no matter how huge the building is constructed, it is a fact that it will remain tilted. The same is the case with Pakistan and Afghanistan relations. It's a reality if Pakistan moves one step forward towards Afghanistan then it takes 3 steps backwards. From a historical perspective, it is evident that divergence of interest is more than convergence of interest in the bilateral relationship between both nations. During the Afghan Jihad from 1979 to 1986, Pakistan played a very important and helpful role. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, many Afghans started fighting to protect their freedom. Pakistan stood by the Afghan people and supported their struggle. It gave shelter to over 3 million Afghan refugees, provided food, homes, and safety, even though it was a developing country. Despite facing many challenges like security issues, drugs, and pressure from big powers, Pakistan remained a true friend to the Afghan people. This shows Pakistan's commitment to peace, support for Muslim brothers, and respect for Afghanistan's independence.

Pakistan backed efforts to stabilize Afghanistan and emerged as a major ally in the global war on terror following the 9/11 attacks. It made it possible for U.S. and NATO forces to share intelligence and use its routes for supplies. As a result of the conflict spreading into its own territory, Pakistan also had to deal with significant difficulties, such as terrorist attacks and financial losses. Pakistan-Afghan relations continued to be complex, involving both collaboration and mistrust. Afghan leaders frequently accused Pakistan of meddling in their domestic affairs, despite the fact that Pakistan backed peace negotiations, including the 2020 U.S.-Taliban agreement. Recognizing that peace and stability in one nation have a significant impact on the other, both nations have maintained diplomatic relations despite ups and downs.

Since the Soviet withdrawal in 1989, Pakistan has consistently supported Afghanistan during difficult times. Pakistan recognized the Taliban government in 1996 to promote regional stability. After 2001, Pakistan supported the new Afghan government, helped the U.S. fight terrorism, and suffered over 80,000 casualties in return. It also played a key role in bringing the Taliban and the U.S. to the peace table in 2020. Despite border tensions, Pakistan continues to call for peaceful dialogue and a stable, united Afghanistan.

Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards Afghanistan from 2018-2022

Following the 2018 general elections, the Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf took control of the country. In its electoral manifesto of 2018, PTI clearly stated that they want friendly relations with neighboring countries. The goal of PTI is to create a Naya Pakistan that is self-assured and at peace with its neighbors via reciprocity. A Pakistan that aspires to cordial ties with every state

based on openness, interest-sharing, and respect for national autonomy. Naya Pakistan would aim to resolve conflicts while maintaining a strong strategic deterrence. A Naya Pakistan that refuses to take up arms in other people's conflicts or stand in for any strength.⁵ After the PTI victory in the general elections of 2018, Imran Khan gave his speech after winning, talking about the War on Terror and the Afghan conflict. He said the Afghan people have suffered the most and now they need peace. He promised that Pakistan would try hard to solve the problem. Additionally, he expressed his desire for Afghanistan to have open borders, like the European Union. According to the Constitution of

Pakistan, Article 40 states that

The State will strive to maintain and enhance brotherly ties among Muslim republics, founded on the principles of Islamic unity, and support the shared interests of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It will also promote international peace and security, foster goodwill and friendly relations among nations, and encourage the peaceful resolution of international disputes.⁶

A key component of PTI's foreign policy was its steadfast dedication to diplomatic solutions, especially concerning Afghanistan. This commitment was based on the belief that diplomatic efforts, as opposed to military action, were the only ways to bring about long-term peace and stability in Afghanistan. Imran Khan's diplomatic strategy towards Afghanistan during his tenure as Prime Minister of Pakistan was characterized by pragmatism and a focus on fostering peace and stability in the region. He underscored the importance of a negotiated settlement to the Afghan conflict and aimed to enhance bilateral relations through dialogue and cooperation. Khan championed the idea of a peace process led and owned by Afghans, encouraging all stakeholders to engage in constructive dialogue to seek a political resolution to the conflict. He supported the intra-Afghan peace talks and offered Pakistan's facilitation to bridge the gaps between the Afghan government and the Taliban. Following the change in government, Pakistan encouraged the Taliban to engage with various factions in Afghanistan to achieve lasting peace. Additionally, Pakistan extended economic cooperation to the new regime.

Second Pakistan Afghanistan and China Foreign Ministers Dialogue

Foreign Ministers from three countries Pakistan, China, and Afghanistan convened the 2nd Foreign Ministers Dialogue in the Afghan capital on 15th of December, 2018.⁷China and Pakistan complimented Afghanistan on the successful conclusion of its parliamentary elections at the meeting and stated their support for the 2019 presidential election. The three sides reaffirmed their commitment to strengthening relationships, promoting collaboration, and developing connectivity projects like the (RECCA), the (BRI), and other regional business ventures.⁸ They also agreed to promote trilateral cooperation under the BRI framework. Furthermore, they repeated their commitment to combat terrorism, while emphasizing mutual trust building, reconciliation support, development cooperation, and security collaboration as key areas of collaboration. They also urged an end to violence in Afghanistan Cooperation in economic development within mutually beneficial areas was emphasized.

China offered support for specific projects including immigration reception centers and drinking water supply schemes, as well as exploring cold storage options.⁹ Enhanced coordination on major energy and connectivity projects was encouraged, including railway construction. The parties affirmed their determination to prevent their territories from being used for terrorist activities and pledged to strengthen counter-terrorism coordination, and capacity building, and deny terrorist access to resources. To bolster their cooperation in counter-terrorism, they signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). Implementation of the agreements reached in the dialogue will be carried out through various mechanisms, including strategic dialogues and practical cooperation channels.

Pakistan's Humanitarian Assistance towards Afghanistan

Following the US exit from Afghanistan Pakistan has directed more than \$2 billion towards rebuilding and restoring efforts in its neighboring nation. Despite grappling with hurdles at home Pakistan has demonstrated a genuine dedication to supporting Afghanistan's progress. This aid encompasses the establishment of infrastructure like healthcare centerseducational institutions, and transportation networks highlighting Pakistan's commitment, to nurturing a thriving Afghanistan while dismissing claims of exploitation. Between September 2021 and October 2022 Islamabad sent over 15, 565 tons of aid worth Rs 2.735 billion in support of its Afghan partners. Despite facing resource constraints Pakistan has allocated \$500 million to boost sectors in Afghanistan.¹⁰ Noteworthy is Pakistan's push to extend the CPEC into Afghanistan to foster gains for the people of both countries.

The last time President Ashraf Ghani travelled to Pakistan was in June 2019. Before this, in May 2019, the two Presidents held a bilateral meeting in Makah, Saudi Arabia, during the 14th OIC Summit. Afghan President Ashraf Ghani carried out a visit to Islamabad to strengthen political, security, and economic cooperation with Pakistan, marking an important shift after years of strained relations. This marked Ghani's second bilateral visit, a departure from his previous approach in 2014 and 2015, where he had consistently ignored repeated invitations. Despite renewed hope, Ghani approached the visit with optimism, considering Pakistan's historical behavior in dealing with various Afghan governments and its persistent efforts to undermine the Afghan state. Pakistan's apprehensions about India continued to shape its strategic decisions in Afghanistan, posing a fundamental question for Afghanistan in its dealings with Pakistan. While the Afghan government had implemented important measures to address Pakistan's concerns. Another critical question revolved around Pakistan's increased level of influence over the Afghan Taliban. The Taliban's sanctuaries were located in Pakistan, raising uncertainties about whether their relationship represented a mere "marriage of convenience" or a more profound strategic alliance. If Pakistan had exaggerated its leverage over the Taliban, it could have been a myopic decision to accord undue significance to Pakistan's role and allow it more space than warranted. In a seminar conducted in Islamabad Afghan President stated that "Pakistan plays a crucial role, and there are interdependencies between the Taliban and Pakistan. We must acknowledge this and develop pragmatic approaches to transition from conflict to cooperation."

President Ghani's words were seen by analysts as a dramatic change in Kabul's attitude towards Pakistan. Islamabad rejected the accusations made by Afghan officials regularly that the neighboring nation helps and harbors Taliban fighters to incite unrest in Afghanistan. During his visit to Pakistan Afghan President also visited a Pakistan-based think tank (ISSI). President Ghani talked about how stability and prosperity go hand in hand for both countries to have control over their affairs. He stressed the need to learn from the past and make positive history. The president pointed out that improving relations with Pakistan and finding a political solution to the Afghan conflict in Afghanistan is crucial for the Afghan government. He also mentioned the importance of working together with Pakistan to reduce poverty and tackle institutional challenges in the region. President Ghani discussed the (TAPI), describing it as an important project that has secured funding, and Afghanistan will soon commence work on it. He highlighted the potential of the Gwadar and Karachi ports to be preferred by Central Asian businesses. Additionally, he noted that the current railway infrastructure is adequate for facilitating these developments. On 18th September 2019 PM Imran Khan with Afghan representatives initiated a border crossing at Torkham to improve strained relations with neighboring Afghanistan. In the past, the border crossing was only open for 12 hours at a time, which caused problems for truck drivers on both sides and made it impossible for patients who couldn't stay the night to pass. During his June 2019 visit to Pakistan, Afghan President Ashraf Ghani requested PM Imran Khan to facilitate trade between the two nations. Afghanistan mostly uses Pakistani land routes and seaports for foreign trade because it is a landlocked nation. Muhammad Sadiq Imran Khan's special representative to Afghanistan said that.

The Torkham crossing, linking Pakistan and Afghanistan, has been made open to pedestrians six days a week. This move is set to significantly reduce travel wait times at the border. Additionally, facilities are being enhanced to make travel between the two countries more convenient and easy. Chief Minister KP Mehmood Khan in a video message said that PM Khan has ordered the opening of the Pak-Afghan border at Torkham for a full day. He further argued that border openings will increase trade with Central Asia. CM stated that every preparation in this respect has been completed. He thought that this initiative would result in more job-related opportunities in Afghanistan. Mehmood Khan declared that this action would put an end to misunderstandings on both ends of the border. Situated along the 2,500 km international border dividing Pakistan and Afghanistan, Torkham is an important transport and shipping hub and one of the busiest ports of entry between the two states.

According to Amina Khan, Director of the Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad (ISSI), in a world that is rapidly changing and shifting from geopolitics to geo-economics, regional economic integration and connectivity have become more and more important. She continued by saying that the benefits of bilateral and transit commerce for both parties' trade and economic prospects are what make Afghanistan and Pakistan enjoy a unique connection. Since August 2021, trade between the two has grown; Afghan exports to Pakistan have increased from \$550 million to \$700 million. This growth can be attributed to bilateral cooperation, the organization of an operationalized Integrated Transit Trade Management System (ITTMS) in Torkham, and

increasing purchases of Afghan coal by Pakistan. She stated that although Pakistani exports to Afghanistan have declined, over the last 11 months, exports through Afghanistan have increased significantly by 70%, from \$118 million to \$202 million, with a remarkable growth in shipments to Central Asian countries.

Chairman (HCNR) of Afghanistan Visited Pakistan in 2020

Chairman (HCNR) Abdullah met with Pakistan's military and civil society officials, spoke with think tanks, the Council of Islamic Ideology of Pakistan, and other members of the public during his tour.¹¹ As he wrapped up his three days in Pakistan, Abdullah said, "I am grateful to the Pakistani leadership and nation for their warm welcome, hospitality, and a new path in ties." Abdullah made a number of significant observations on the relationship and the area during his stay. Speaking at the Institute of Strategic Studies in Islamabad, he admitted that there are ongoing tensions on the relationship between the two nations and that exaggerated mistrust, and conspiracy theories have been hurting such ties. He did, however, emphasized that the moment had come for both states to address unresolved issues, identify their shared interests, and come out with a new vision and strategy for their partnership.

In his statement, Imran Khan said that he was very happy to announce that intra-Afghan negotiations would start on September 12th, 2020. This is a considerable milestone that the Afghans have been waiting for years. After over four decades of war and violence, Afghans are at last moving towards peace. Pakistan has also suffered immensely from this conflict with terrorism, loss of human lives as well as huge economic costs. I have always held the view that there cannot be any military solution to this problem and that only a political agreement arrived at through dialogue can normalize the situation. Pakistan has played a vital role in facilitating the Afghan peace process, and we are proud to have fulfilled our responsibility. It is now up to the Afghanistan leaders to take advantage of this opportunity by working together constructively so as to secure an inclusive political settlement acceptable to all Afghans.

A successful Afghan-owned and Afghan-led peace and reconciliation process is crucial for Afghanistan's future as well as regional harmony and prosperity. We assume all parties will honor their pledges, persevere through challenges and continue working towards peace diligently. As they embark on this critical journey towards peace. Pakistan will continue to support its neighbor across international border in solidarity with the Afghan people.

Pakistan's Role in Doha Peace Accord

In an interview conducted by Nancy Lindborg President United States Institute for Peace and Security the American journalist asked Prime Minister Imran Khan for government approach towards facilitating the Afghan Peace dialogue .In answer of her question Imran Khan said that, It's only to help folks.¹² It was always the fair opinion of the Pakistani military establishment that there would be two fronts: the Eastern front, which is India, and the Pakistani military establishment would be caught in the middle if Afghanistan was also under Indian influence. For this reason, the Pakistani military establishment desired what is known as the "Strategic Depth." However, this has changed today, as Pakistan no longer believes in the concept of strategic depth because we believe that by meddling in Afghanistan to gain strategic depth, we have actually

caused significant harm to our nation and have unintentionally turned partisan in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. He went on to say that the Pakistani army is an independent organization over which governments have no authority. As I sit here and speak, the Pakistan Army is fully in support of the government's programme. Regardless of our initial strategy, we have always favored peace with India; they were behind. The army was right there with me when I made the decision to free the pilot who had been shot down in Pakistan. The democratic government of Pakistan and the security forces of Pakistan have the same policies. We think it is never appropriate for us to meddle in Afghanistan's domestic issues. Allow the Afghans to make their own decisions. What kind of governance do they desire? We ought to assist the Peace Process. That's a significant change now. We're all on the same page.¹³

According to the details given in the agreement, it was decided that America in the first 135 days (about 4 and a half months) in Afghanistan will cut down its force to 7600 soldiers whereas its other allies also cut down the number of their soldiers to the same ratio. During this time frame forces will be withdrawn from 5 army stations. After this, in 9.5 months remaining American forces and its allies will withdraw from Afghanistan. America with other parties will start working on a project according to which the Taliban and Afghan government for mutual understanding on the first day of dialogue which is 10 March will exchange the prisoners.5000 Taliban prisoners and 1000 from the other side will be released. With this dialogue, America will start to eliminate sanctions from the Afghan Taliban till 16th August 2020. Other than this America with its diplomatic efforts will try to uplift sanctions from the UN imposed on Taliban members. This agreement is solely between America and the Afghan government American defense minister visited Kabul on the same day. After his meeting with Afghan officials' joint statement was given on behalf of both countries. In this joint declaration, everything is the same as mentioned.

However, Doha agreement was welcomed by the whole world but as a result talks between the Taliban and Afghan government faced difficulty at its initial stage. First Afghan President Ashraf Ghani refused to release Taliban prisoners. After this, it was not an easy step to prepare a delegation to initiate talks with the Taliban. Other than this the election of 2019 was also criticized in which Ashraf Ghani declared himself President. Abdullah Abdullah who was an opponent of Ashraf Ghani, refused to accept the election results. Anyhow Ashraf Ghani took oath on 9th March. But matters of both opponents were not solved till 16th May 2020. At last Abdullah Abdullah was appointed as head of the National Reconciliation Committee to hold talks with the Taliban. During this on behalf of America Turkey's government suggested Afghanistan hand over the responsibility of the safety of Kabul airport to Turk forces. Afghan Taliban did not accept this suggestion and warned Turkey to don't do this.

However resurgence of TTP in Afghanistan along with other terrorist organizations poses serious threats for Pakistan as well as for whole region. Not only Pakistan external security is threatened but Pakistan internal security is also at stake. After 2021 there is sharp increase in terrorist activities in South KP as well as in Balochistan. Many times Pakistan warned Afghanistan

to take serious action against TTP but all in vain. Moreover there is a dire need to implement NAP in order to make security situation better in Pakistan. Pakistan has suffered a lot from many years from this evil of terrorism but no other nation acknowledge this fact.

Afghan Refugees

Pakistan is home to 1.4 million Afghan refugees, making it the third-largest refugee population globally. However, estimates from the United Nations suggest that the actual number of refugees may be as high as three million. The swiftness with which the Taliban overran Kabul and seized power surprised many people as well as the rest of the globe. According to Safiullah Noori, 66, an Afghan refuge in Karachi, "I have witnessed the entry and evacuation of Soviet troops, the arrival and withdrawal of U.S. troops, and now the reemergence of the Taliban."¹⁴ Pakistan, like all neighboring countries, supported the peace agreement between the US and the Taliban in February 2020 in Qatar. One of the key provisions of the peace agreement was the complete withdrawal of US forces from Afghanistan. As the US troops began to pull out of Afghanistan in July 2021, Islamabad worried about what would happen to Pakistan if the US troops left without a negotiated settlement with the Taliban.¹⁵ In July 2021, Pakistan's then Prime Minister, Imran Khan, expressed his fear that "we are upset that another wave of refugees is on its way and we do not have the political or economic strength to cope with it."¹⁶ Since August 15, when the Taliban took control of the country's capital, Kabul, international aid agencies have estimated that over 300,000 Afghans including women and children have crossed into neighboring Iran illegally since the start of the year. Afghani families are desperate to get out of the country amid the worst drought in decades, soaring poverty, rising unemployment, and years of war that have pushed humanitarian needs to an all-time high this winter. Fears that the Taliban will retaliate against those who support the ousted Western-backed government have also led many Afghans to try to flee the country. The humanitarian situation has been aggravated by financial sanctions imposed by the United States and other Western countries against the Taliban government, which have effectively shut down the entire banking system in Afghanistan.¹⁷

Implications for Pakistan

Terrorist attacks in Pakistan increased by 28% in the country in 2022, according to a report by the PICSS, Islamabad based think tank. The increase was led by Baluchistan, which saw the highest number of attacks. Attacks were mainly carried out by the BLA and the TTP. In response to these attacks, the PICSS reported 16 security forces operations in which 39 people were killed and 47 militants were arrested. In December alone, there were 49 attacks in which 56 people were killed and 81 were injured. According to the PICSS, there were 376 terror attacks across the country in 2022 with 533 deaths and 832 injuries. There were also four suicide attacks in KP and 15 attacks in Islamabad. In the last four years, there has been a sharp rise in the number of attacks.¹⁸

CONCLUSION

Pakistan and Afghanistan both are Islamic countries. They have deep social, historical, and political roots. Unfortunately, Afghanistan remained battle ground for superpowers for many decades which created internal instability in Afghanistan and also posed a threat to regional

stability as well. Pakistan from the very start wanted a peaceful Afghanistan and it also proved this fact in facilitating peace talks between the Taliban and USA. Pakistan also knows this fact that if there is peace and tranquility in Afghanistan then it will prosper the whole region. It was speculated that the formation of a new government in Afghanistan proved best for Pakistan's interest but unfortunately, it didn't happen. It seems that the Afghan government has failed to implement the Doha Peace Agreement in its real terms.¹⁹It is necessary to build friendly relations with one another because war is not the ultimate solution for problems. Cordial relations are in the best interest of both nations. Moreover, there were flaws in Pakistan's foreign policy towards Afghanistan. Especially Pakistan was a key negotiator in the Doha Peace Accord. It is written in the Doha agreement that Afghan soil would not be used against America or its allies. So, the question is here what about Pakistan? After 2021 there is a sharp increase in terrorist activities in Pakistan. It was also a miscalculation on Pakistan's side that after the Taliban came into power in Afghanistan India's influence would be minimized but unfortunately, it didn't. Secondly and most importantly why there was a dialogue with Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan? What about the innocent children of APS and other thousands of people who lost their lives in suicide bombings and terrorist activities.TTP is a rogue element so how it is possible to have dialogue with these elements? States cannot be run on sentiments. Another important thing is that "Imran Khan said that Taliban have shackled the chains of slavery". Critiques argued that Talibans were not slaves in Afghanistan. They fought their war themselves.

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